

FELLOWSHIP

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A PLEA FOR PEACE

Statement by National Executive Committee, Fellowship of Reconciliation

THE PRESIDENT'S PLAN FOR UNIVERSAL MILITARY TRAINING would add to the international fear and jealousy already aroused by our possession of the atomic bomb. His assurance that the "general reserve of all male citizens of the United States" would not be called into action except by Congress does not lessen the threat to other nations of the colossal military establishment contemplated. Nor would it remove the danger of a President maneuvering this power in such fashion as to provoke an international incident which might stampede Congress into pushing the button for total conscription and atomic war. The President's plan is military nationalism above everything else and cannot escape being so regarded by other nations.

The battle for world peace instead of war, for government by the people instead of government exploiting the people, and for freedom of education and liberty of conscience, must immediately be waged in Congress against the combined weight of the greatest military organization in American history, the authority of the President and State Department, and powerful propaganda in the press and radio.

Victory for peace and democracy on this front would show that the moral and material strength of America is committed to peaceful international procedures for the solution of international conflict. This victory can be won if the rank and file of citizens from coast to coast will individually write, or telegraph, their Senators and Congressmen urging total defeat of the President's plan.

October 26, 1945.

John Haynes Holmes

TWO MONTHS HAVE NOW PASSED since the atomic bomb fell on Hiroshima. During this period I have thought much on this titanic episode, and have found no reason for altering my immediate instinctive reaction that this bomb is the worst of all atrocities, the most ghastly of all horrors, the most dangerous of all threats to the security and even survival of mankind. Three points are incontrovertible:

(1) *The bomb has a potential beyond all imagination.* The energy now utilized is only one-tenth of one per cent of the total contained in uranium-235, yet it has 2,000 times more explosive power than any previous bomb. The French physicist, the Duc de Broglie, declares that eventually "energy 200,000,000 times as great as that of the most powerful explosives can be liberated." We are standing today, in other words, only on the threshold of this vast power-house.

Every now and then the astronomers see a sudden and vivid flash of light in some dark area of the sky. This is a star blown up by some tremendous release of atomic energy. One day, perhaps, there will be seen an awful flash in this area where swings the earth. This will mean that man has destroyed himself and all his works—and the very planet which is his abode in space.

(2) *The secret of the bomb cannot be kept.* An English physicist has said that in not less than five years, it will be a matter of general knowledge. President Truman was scrupulous in his promise to invoke the aid of Congress to the end of keeping hidden this awful mystery. But one might as well try to clutch water or capture air as to try to preserve inviolate, in this highly developed scientific age, a formula of such enormous significance as this new explosive.

The fact is that the major part of the secret is already known. The long succession of steps leading up to this paralyzing discovery is as familiar to the physicists and chemists of the world today as the steps leading up to Mme. Curie's discovery and utilization of radium. Only the last climactic steps wait now to be revealed. And it needs only time, and a reasonable degree of patience and persistence, for competent scientists everywhere to find their way to the dreadful goal. A few more years, and there won't be a laboratory in the world in which the atomic bomb will not be as well understood as dynamite or TNT.

(3) *There is no evidence, in the history or the psychology of human nature, that man is worthy to be entrusted with such physical power as is contained within this bomb.* There have been deadly weapons discovered before this—

weapons relatively as monstrous in their time as the atomic horror is in ours. But man has never shrunk from their use. Gunpowder, as set against swords and spears and bows-and-arrows, was such a discovery—and its employment for purposes of war soon became almost universal. The machine-gun, first turned against the natives of the Sudan, if I remember rightly, sent a shudder of revulsion and alarm throughout the world. The British Parliament debated suppressing this weapon as too horrible to be endured. But in a few years it was a part of the standard military equipment in every western land.

There are only two motives that can drive man to any such self-denying action as the deliberate refusal to use—in his defense, he would say!—a new weapon of enormous potency. One motive is fear. Fear that the weapon in question may be turned ultimately, or quickly, against himself! Ordinary prudence, in other words, in one's own interest! The other motive is conscience. An awakening of the inner life to the wrong involved in wholesale and brutal massacre! A refusal to do evil, and therewith compromise with the vile principle that the end justifies the means!

Now I find no evidence, in this or any earlier age, that, in the making of war against his enemies, man has ever allowed either fear or conscience to interfere with the swift pursuit of his own advantage. Churchill and Truman may well have trembled at the consequences of releasing the atomic bomb. As Christian statesmen, they may well have had compunctions at wielding such a weapon of doom and death. But they went ahead, none the less, in wanton violation of all prudence and all principle. If responsible and presumably moral men of this highly cultivated type could do this thing, what about a second Hitler in some not distant day? The Fuehrer did not hesitate to use every device of force and violence that mankind in its madness had produced up to 1939. His successor would do the same. Says Dr. Leo Comorau, writing in the *New Leader*, "If this method (of the atomic bomb) were to fall into the hands of just a small group of unscrupulous people, they might easily enslave (or destroy!) our whole civilized population."

It is these facts which weigh upon my mind these torturing days. The immeasurable power of atomic energy, even to the total destruction of mankind! The certainty that in due course the knowledge of the production and use of this energy will become the common possession of the world at large! The doubt, to put it in no stronger terms, that the race has any practical or moral competence to handle such enormous concen-

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tration of power! Bernard Shaw says that these things do not matter. Warning that "the ultimate consequence of exploding atoms may well be the explosion of the world," he writes: "In view of our behavior recently, I cannot pretend to deprecate such a possibility."

But I deprecate it! Man has done things on this earth which are worth preserving. Man has qualities within himself which are worth nurturing. Man is spirit, and he must not be defeated by the flesh. This is God's world, and man must learn to dedicate it to his purposes. Which means that we have come to the supreme crisis of the ages! There are things which we must do if the trumpets of Armageddon are not to sound: relieve and remove the grievances of men; establish and maintain mutual and not antagonistic interests among the nations. Set up one sovereign government which shall be God's kingdom upon earth. In other words, we must at last, after all these centuries, heed the prophet's word, to "do justly, to love mercy, and to walk humbly with God." Nothing less will save us in this final extremity.

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Pearl Harbor and Preparedness

By JOHN M. SWOMLEY, JR.

IN THEIR CAMPAIGN FOR SUPREME MILITARY POWER for the United States our officials have attempted to convince the people that armed might is the key to success in American diplomacy. Through concrete proposals to Congress and the people they have asked for peacetime military conscription, for many new naval bases, for a navy several times the size of any previous peacetime navy, for a standing army of 2,500,000,¹ a permanent armed reserve of at least four million men, for organized scientific research utilizing our best young scientists for military purposes, and for sole control of the atomic bomb. All this points in the direction of a super-military power beyond anything that pre-war Germany or Japan could boast.

The officials claim that such military might is essential to "adequate preparedness." And they are waging an intensive campaign to convince the public that we have been inadequately prepared in the past and therefore have either risked defeat or been forced to fight a long war.

The attack on Pearl Harbor and the defeat suffered there have been used by the President himself as illustrations of our lack of preparedness. The blame for Pearl Harbor he places on the American people because they did not want adequate preparedness. Army and Navy leaders, the American Legion, and some civilians also hold this view.

The Navy's Pearl Harbor report states that "On December 7, 1941, the United States [Pacific] Fleet was numerically inferior to the Japanese naval forces in both combatant and auxiliary vessels." Yet on the very day when Pearl Harbor was attacked, Secretary of Navy Knox issued a report stating that the United States Navy was the largest in the world. This means, of course, that a large part of our Navy was stationed in the Atlantic. This is explained in the Army's Pearl Harbor report: "The battle of the Atlantic was the predominant factor in the public mind and dominated the policy of the War Department, as evidenced by the transfer of a considerable part of the Pacific fleet to the Atlantic."

Were We Prepared?

Actually, then, *the United States had the largest Navy in the world* and was using perhaps half of it in "the battle of

the Atlantic" at a time when the American people were led to believe we were not at war.

Moreover, the United States, in September, 1940, had established compulsory military training and service, as a result of which more than one million men were in the Army before Pearl Harbor was attacked. The Navy numbered over 600,000. The National Guard had been called to active service, and units of the Regular Army and Marine Corps were on duty throughout the Pacific.

So in addition to peacetime conscription *the regular Army and the National Guard were fully mobilized.*

The Army's Pearl Harbor report says: "Oahu (on which Pearl Harbor is situated) was also the location of one of the largest troop concentrations in the national defense system of the United States . . ." and "this outpost was implemented with the major portion of the fleet and very substantial Army installations in order that the mainland might rest securely and be protected."

General Marshall himself said in a letter to General Short, Commander of the Army's Hawaiian Department, on February 7, 1941, "Hawaii is on a far better basis than any other command in the Army." He also wrote, "Frankly I do not see any landing threat in the Hawaiian Island so long as *we have air superiority.*"²

In the traditional "preparedness" sense, then, *Hawaii was the strongest post in the American defense setup.*

Furthermore, a considerable part of the industrial might of the United States was already geared to war production and an even larger part of it was in the process of conversion to war production. If there was any lack of "preparedness" it was due to a decision on the part of those responsible for "preparedness" that we should give away not only 50 destroyers but also various kinds of military equipment to other nations. The Army's report stated, "We were arming our forces for war and at the same time giving away much of such armament."

The officials had decided not to let the American public know how quickly it was being taken into war. Ambassador Grew from Japan on September 30, 1941, "protested at the secrecy of our conversations with Japan as practised by the United States without advising the public, whereas it

¹ To be followed eventually by some reduction.

² Italics supplied.

was common knowledge in Japan." The public, for example, was not told until the war was over just what sort of talk there had been behind the scenes about getting into war. Two illustrations³ will suffice: "Mr. Hull said after delivering his ultimatum (on November 26, 1941) that he washed his hands of the matter and left it to the Army and Navy." In a letter to General Short, Chief of Staff Marshall said, "The United States desires that Japan commit the first overt act."

Thus, *the United States was industrially as near to a war footing as possible* without arousing the suspicions of the people. We were on enough of a war basis industrially to be supplying other nations with war materials.

In the light of these facts it is certainly not accurate to say that the United States was attacked because it was unprepared! *Exactly the opposite is the case.* The United States was attacked because our "preparedness" had reached such a point that Japan considered it a menace to her position in Asia. She decided to attack at once, before our armed forces became still more formidable. The Navy's Pearl Harbor report stresses this fact: "Aware of this existing weakness in relative fighting strength [of the Pacific fleet after units had been withdrawn to the Atlantic] and of the vigorous steps to overcome deficiencies, Japan early sensed the advantage of striking before these steps could become effective."

This observation by the Navy is practically an admission that an important factor in precipitating an attack is competition in armaments. Capt. B. H. Liddell Hart in his book *Why Don't We Learn from History?* says that an important factor in the beginning of the Second World War was Britain's adoption of peacetime conscription and an armaments program at the same time that she announced a military alliance with Poland and France.

Did We Disarm Before?

Another piece of propaganda completely contrary to the facts has been used by American militarists in trying to sell a "preparedness" program. They say that "never again must the United States disarm." Thus they imply that the United States did disarm after other wars; but when Germany was disarmed following the First World War, *we did not disarm.* Though we did scrap some ships, in accordance with the famous 5:5:3 plan, we still maintained a large navy which, coupled with Britain's, was a controlling force in the world's oceans. Nor were France and England disarmed. M. Daladier testified at the Petain trial that "France was not disarmed" when Germany attacked. He said "France had 3,600 tanks against Germany's 3,200, and Germany's production was not greater than ours. After the armistice on June 24, 1940, there were 4,200 planes in the free zone." He did not add, as he might have, that France had had compulsory military service for years.

So far as Britain is concerned, we might recall Lloyd George's speech in the House of Commons (May 9, 1940) in which he said: "We gave, not merely in the treaty itself but in a document signed by M. Clemenceau [then Premier of France] on our behalf, a solemn promise that if Germany disarmed we would immediately follow her example. That was not carried out and there is no government more responsible for that than the present [British] National Government which came to power in 1931. . . .

America was ready. Germany was ready. Bruening [Chancellor of Germany] was in charge. We refused to carry out our promise, for Germany was completely disarmed."

Does Preparedness Aid Diplomacy?

Still another argument advanced in favor of a big military program is that a nation with a large military establishment can more effectively win diplomatic victories in its relations with other nations. General Marshall, Chief of Staff of the United States Army, said, in speaking of peacetime compulsory military training, "The officials of the State Department have been strongly of the opinion that a decision in this matter prior to the final peace negotiations would greatly strengthen the hand of the United States in securing acceptance of a genuine organization to handle international differences."

Yet, at the very moment when the United States was the sole possessor of the atomic bomb, the owner of a navy larger than all other navies combined, and had several million soldiers in Europe, our diplomats were unable to prevent Russia from extending her diplomatic and military control over the Balkans, and the foreign ministers of Russia, Britain, and the United States were unable to arrive at any agreement about a peace treaty for Italy or joint control of Japan! If military preparedness really gains diplomatic victories, how can we account for this conspicuous failure?

International discussions conducted in the atmosphere of threats and fear are unlikely to solve the world's problems, but are likely to result in the development of spheres of influence and international distrust.

Preparedness or Peace?

The truth about military preparedness, of which Pearl Harbor is but another striking illustration, may be set down and underscored as follows:

First, *great military power does not provide real security.* A daring and well executed surprise attack by the enemy, or a miscalculation by the President or other key officials in Washington, may almost totally offset the advantage of "adequate preparedness" in munitions plants, fortifications, ground forces, and naval vessels. The atomic bomb greatly increases this danger. We cannot rule out the possibility that even a small nation, with a few hundred planes each dropping one or more atomic bombs, might put the United States Navy, all its island bases, and the key munitions and military centers on the mainland out of commission in less than twenty four hours.

Second, *war preparations and peace preparations are incompatible.* They cannot be effectively combined. Either we believe in nationalism, or we believe in world organization; we believe in diplomacy backed by force, or we believe in diplomacy backed by friendship. There is no middle ground. So long as the world prepares for war we shall have Secretaries of State issuing ultimatums and handing the matter over to the Army and Navy to settle—and we shall have in the hands of aggressor nations the power to carry out their aggression.

What the world needs is American leadership in the direction of genuine world organization and complete disarmament. Yet at this particular moment in history our government is working as never before to make the United States the supreme military power of all time.

³ Both from the Pearl Harbor report.

"I Don't Deserve that Medal"

AN AMERICAN SOLDIER RELATES THE MOST WONDERFUL EXPERIENCE OF HIS LIFE*

YOU ASKED ABOUT MY MEDAL. I haven't told the story of it to anyone, and you will see why when you hear about it. I am not very proud of it and yet there isn't a thing I can do about it now, without revealing a story that would get my new friends into trouble. *You* may tell the story so long as my name is never attached to it. It is now two a. m. Tomorrow I go off to the battlefield. I may never get home again and I want someone to know that I don't deserve that medal. I didn't earn it.

It happened this way. I was captured by the Japanese with five of my pals. We were marched along through the jungle with bayonets in our backs. As we marched toward the Japanese camp I had to see my comrades one by one killed, mutilated, torn limb from limb. They were men with whom I had spent three years—not three years of casual friendship, either. When you live with men night and day, winter and summer; when you work with them, suffer with them, fight with them, you become attached to them more closely than you will ever become with any other men the rest of your lives. As I watched them fall I knew that within a few minutes I, too, would be killed as they had been. But, somehow, at that moment my only thought was "the sooner the better." Life for me was over. I said the 23rd Psalm. (Do you remember the time you made me come back to church for a whole afternoon to learn it because you insisted that I earn my Bible?) I said the Lord's Prayer and then I started to think things over. A good bit of the Yankee spirit stayed with me. Die I must, but I determined not to let my captor see my fear.

Trembling from head to foot, marching in mud up to my ankles, with a bayonet sticking in my back, I began to whistle the way I used to when I was a small boy and had to go through a dark street. So I whistled as loud as my trembling lips would let me. After awhile, to my surprise I realized that I was whistling

"We gather together to ask the Lord's blessing.
He chastens and hastens His will to make known.
The wicked oppressing, cease then from distressing.
Sing praises to His name, He forgets not His own."

My thoughts turned back to the many times we had sung it in Forum. You said one time you supposed that no matter where we might be the rest of our lives, if we ever heard that song we would think of Forum and our Church. Well, as I whistled it over and over I did think of the old Forum crowd, of our church, and of the various individuals in it. I realized for the first time how much the church had done for me. It had molded my character and given me the stuff to be able to take what the Army gave me and take it knowing that I was not alone, that God was with me. I thought how the church stood for eternal life. At any moment now, I, too, would be dying. That sharp point in my back would start me on my journey to eternity. But now I was no longer afraid.

Suddenly, from my reverie I became aware that someone had joined me in my whistling. No, it couldn't be, but it

was—my Japanese captor! He, too, was whistling the hymn. Soon we both broke into words, he in Japanese, I in English. "The wicked oppressing, cease then from distressing. . . . He forgets not His own." One after another were the hymns we whistled and sang as we marched through the jungle mud, with me in front and my captor in the rear, with now his gun in my back. Gradually the power of the hymns made me relax, and must have had the same effect on him, for soon I felt his gun fall into place. And still later he caught up with me and we sang, he in Japanese, and I in English.

I wondered if his thoughts were as mingled as mine. Here we were marching along, lifting our hearts in unison in Christian praise to a Christian God of peace, and yet I was being led to the slaughterhouse by him. I was interrupted in my thinking by his words in perfect English: "I never cease to wonder at the magnificence of Christian hymns." Startled by his English, I jumped and we both laughed. Soon we were talking. I asked where he had learned to speak English and he replied that he had gone to Christian mission schools. "Not Glory Kindergarten?" I asked. "Why, I started in Glory Kindergarten," he replied. "How do you know it?" Then I told him how in Sunday school we had studied about the Congregational schools and churches. We had raised money for Glory Kindergarten and had sent over gifts for them. I spoke of the gift of the picture we sent and the letters we had back from the teachers. He remembered the picture and added that when the picture was presented he had helped to fix the flowers for the beauty corner where the picture was placed.

Then followed a conversation that is impossible to relate—one that few men have ever had with one another, when surface things are swept away and the soul stands out on top. We talked of war and how the Japanese Christians hate it; of Christianity and its power in the world; of what it would mean if people would ever really dare to live it; of the incomparable value of the missionaries; of Kagawa; of our own ideals—for our homes, our jobs, and our future families. And finally, at his suggestion, we knelt in the mud and prayed for suffering humanity around the world; for "His peace that passeth all understanding" and for peace again on earth with good will toward men.

When we arose he asked if I would take him back as a prisoner to the American headquarters. He said that this was the only way he could live up to his Christianity and thus help Japan to become a Christian nation and on the way back he found in various foxholes other Japanese Christians and they, too, joined me as we walked toward the American headquarters. I shall never forget the hope and joy that came into their eyes as my Japanese friend unfolded to them, one by one, as he met them, how we found each other and why and where they were being taken. All the way back we talked of the Christian religion. You know, after being born into Christianity, I had taken its teachings for granted. I never shall again. I know now—from these Japanese friends—what Christ can mean to an

* A letter written by a teen-age soldier to the director of religious education of his home church.

individual or a nation that has lived under a hideous system of heathen gods. I know that it means the difference between Japanese atrocities and my new Japanese friends with their high Christian ideals.

We sang in English all the great universal hymns of the ages—Faith of Our Fathers; A Mighty Fortress Is Our God; Lead on, O King Eternal; The Church's One Foundation; Spirit of God Descend upon My Heart.

When we neared camp, by mutual agreement, they put on poker faces and somber looks and I, gun in hand, marched them into camp. After the war is over they will spend their lives keeping alive and spreading an ever growing Christian community in Japan.

So, you see, I don't deserve a medal for the most wonderful experience of my life. You surely see now why I don't want to talk about my medal.

The International FOR and the Life of the Age to Come*

By JOHN NEVIN SAYRE

I

THE ATOMIC BOMB which exploded over Hiroshima on August 6, 1945, is widely believed to have marked the advent of a new age, the Age of Atomic Energy, confronting humanity as never before with the choice between blessing and cursing, the choice between life and death. Of the reality and urgency of this choice there can be no question but I venture to believe that the New Age—if it comes—will not be primarily an age of atomic energy. This power now unloosed from Pandora's Box and first used to serve death belongs rather to the sensate culture of the present age, a culture which is destroying itself in a series of self-inflicted catastrophies. The bomb is just one more step to a lower level of the hell of war, and fulfills the ominous prophecy uttered more than twenty years ago by Winston Churchill regarding the application of twentieth century science to warfare. Mr. Churchill said: "Death stands at attention, obedient, expectant, ready to serve, ready to shear away the peoples *en masse*, ready, if called on, to pulverize without hope of repair, what is left of civilization. He awaits only the word of command."

I hold that the bomb, Mr. Churchill, and the many who think in terms of maintaining security by means of force, belong to the age which is perishing. The coming age will not be predominantly an age of atomic force, even if such force is turned to beneficent uses. A greater force will be central to, and characteristic of, its culture. This force will be non-violent and of the spirit. It will be the life of God in the conduct, character, and consciousness of dedicated trained supercharged persons. Apart from this there can be no harnessing of atomic force in the service of life nor can man be master of the death which "stands at attention."

Now, the life of the age to come is, in a limited degree, already here. It has been on the earth for a long time. It is locked up in virtually all human beings, but in almost all of them it stays locked up just as until this year the power of the atom was not turned loose. Yet there have been a few human beings so open to God that they contrived to liberate and manifest this superhuman spiritual energy. They changed the course of history. The greatest of the prophets in India, China, Palestine, Greece and other lands have done this. Jesus of Nazareth towered above them all; and in the way of life set forth by Him we recall the names of John,

Paul, St. Francis, George Fox, John Wesley and others. But after the coming of modern science and the dazzlement of men by the scientific method and wonders of technological achievement the majority of persons, at least in the West, came to believe that reality and the way to individual, group, and national success lay almost wholly in the search for, and mastery of, material possessions and power. Great exemplars of non-violent spiritual force appeared on the world stage less frequently and their influence on society was less. In our own lifetime, however, Tolstoi and Gandhi stand out as fresh incarnations of unarmed spiritual might. Our own Fellowship of Reconciliation belongs in that stream. And its vocation, I believe, is to nurture and consolidate a company of divinely dedicated supercharged persons who shall manifest in our bomb-cursed society the saving life of the kingdom of peace that God wills.

II

In the IFOR today we have fresh proof that even totalitarian war does not prevail against such saviors of society. Here, for instance, is a letter about the experience of our Fellowship of Reconciliation group in Prague. The writer, Olga Fierz, has for many years shared with our leader Premysl Pitter in the task of running a children's home and social settlement in the heart of Czechoslovakia's ancient capital. Her letter received in mid-September says:

From our members, Mr. Lederer and his wife were tortured and died, Prof. Mudroch from the Youth Exchange Service was tortured and died, Valentine Bulgakov, Tolstoy's former secretary, returned after spending over two years in a German concentration camp; Prof. Flusser and his wife were removed, in the fall of 1944, from the Terezin concentration camp to an unknown destination in Poland and probably died. Several other friends who helped Premysl in the Milicuv Dum, were cremated in the concentration camp "factories," and so were several Jewish children in care of the FOR.

Premysl Pitter carried on with his work, taking care of underprivileged children in the Milic House; several times, during the occupation, he volunteered—out of solidarity—to go with Jewish transports to Poland, but was always refused. Once he was summoned before the Gestapo for having offered food to Jewish children on their way to Poland. When questioned, he declared that, being a Christian and a director of a children's home, he could not have acted otherwise. He was released. At present Premysl is entrusted by the National Political Council with the directorship of four new youth homes; for this purpose the government gave to the disposal of the FOR four requisitioned castles. There the children of martyred Jewish and "mixed" parents will be taken care of.

* Address by Chairman of the International Fellowship of Reconciliation to the 1945 Conferences of FOR in the United States.

Premysl bemoans the upsurge of hatred [among the Czechs] resulting from the terrible mismanagement of the Nazis. He has held already one large public meeting in which he urged men and women to try to forgive and to love.

The same spirit of overcoming hatred and radiating love in the face of the extreme violence of Nazi rule was manifested by FOR groups in other occupied countries. Notable among such cases was the valiant life of our group in Paris led by Henri Roser and the stirring accomplishments of the FOR at LeChambon-sur-Lignon centered around André Trocmé and Edouard Theis, who are such welcome visitors at our Conferences in the United States this fall. I shall not, at this point, go into their stories because I wish now to center attention on a further idea, which is the unlocking of power like theirs in *ourselves*. Let me introduce this by telling what happened to one of our members in Germany.

III

On my last visit to that country, in 1938, I spent a night in the home of Karl Hermann and his wife, Eva, at Mannheim. She was a member of IFOR Council and both were good pacifists. All through the war I was worried about their situation, for I had heard that they were in prison and grave danger because they had given aid to Jews and otherwise transgressed the Nazi commandments. One member of the Fellowship in Buenos Aires, who had known and loved the Hermanns in Germany, besought me for news about their fate. Toward the end of last September I talked in Philadelphia with Alice Shaffer, an American Friend, who had seen and talked with Karl Hermann in Frankfort last July. She said that he had served two years of an eight-year penitentiary sentence but when the Americans entered Frankfort he was set free. I asked her, "How did he appear when you saw him?" Her face broke into a radiant smile. "Oh," she said, "he's wonderful. He's like a new person."

What had happened?

Karl describes it like this. He said that before imprisonment he had always been within reach of friends with whom he found real understanding and they were a great joy and strength to him. Then in prison and with his wife in another prison, everything was changed. All the persons with whom he was now thrown thought differently from himself—they did not understand the ideas that were most precious to him. Then he began to realize that here was a God-sent opportunity to see how he could make deep contact with them, how they could come to a mutual understanding of truth. So he learned to unlock "that of God" which was in him and them and in every man. In the process more of God was released in him. Now the light which he has shines far beyond the restricted circle of his former home and friends. What matter that the house he used to live in and all his possessions were bombed into ashes? He has the pearl of great price. And it was discovered on the training ground of imprisonment in Hitler's Germany in war.

We know that similar experiences have taken place with FOR members in various countries and with some of our American conscientious objectors in prison, mental hospitals, and Civilian Public Service camps. The Fellowship in the United States has something like 1500 members in these places. But I ask you, does there have to be a world war or conscription or the *Gestapo* to release the buried energy of

God in us? Could it not be done by voluntary training of the life of the Spirit?

Gerald Heard, Douglas Steere, Muriel Lester, Allan Hunter and others believe this is really possible. I had the privilege of visiting Gerald Heard's Trabuco College for a few days last year but before that I was convinced that he and others such as I have named are on the track of profoundly important truth. If I were asked to say at what point should the Fellowship after this war do better than we did after the last war, I would say that it should be at the point of placing far more emphasis on training for the life of the spirit. This does not mean that we ought to withdraw from social action. But it does mean that the *foundation* for the only type of social action that will be adequate to cope with the atomic forces now unleashed, has to be laid in training of the practice of the presence of God. And I would say that this training has to alternate between two poles: (1) progress in interior prayer, and (2) self-identification with the victims of oppression.

IV

The odds against us are so great that it may be set down as a practical certainty that none of us will succeed in isolation. No more so than could the atom be split by a single individual. Even Jesus had to have a fellowship of friends. So I believe that the most immediate and pressing job of the International Fellowship of Reconciliation is to extend and re-establish all possible lines of communication between our prayer cells and to spread across all frontiers continuous communion of our "saints."

When the mails reopened for the sending of letters and food packages to France, Belgium, Italy and Holland, George Paine and Herbert Jehle on the Atlantic coast, and Enrico Molnar on the Pacific coast, organized person-to-person sending of food parcels for FOR members and other individuals in those countries. Together they managed to get over 1000 parcels into the mail. It is a time-consuming painstaking job, but we know it is appreciated, and I hope that some of you may take part in it.¹

It is urgently necessary that mail and parcel service to Germany be re-established for civilians. At present the only letters possible are to soldiers in the occupying zones or post cards through the International Red Cross which take six months or more for delivery. It would be helpful if as many FOR members as possible should write to their Senators and Congressmen urging prompt re-establishment of mail service to Germany and Austria. We should also do our best to assist public opinion in this country to demand more adequate measures of relief for Europe from our government than the proposals of President Truman thus far envisage. We should urge that American rationing be continued until it is sure that adequate relief is going over this winter and will be sent through 1946 and 1947.

During the war the American FOR has managed to maintain a slender thread of help to key FOR members abroad. The greater part has gone to our center in Zurich, Switzerland, which has been headed with conspicuous courage and ability by Dr. F. Siegmund-Schultze. Other sums have been sent to André Trocmé at LeChambon-sur-Lignon, to Henri Roser in Paris, to Claud Nelson in Rome, to the Near East

¹ Specific information can be obtained from (1) Fellowship of Reconciliation, 6 Park Street, Boston, Mass., or (2) Enrico C. S. Molnar, Golden Gate Methodist Church, 61st and Idaho Streets, Oakland, Cal.

Foundation for relief in Greece, and to the American Friends Service Committee for relief in China.

Over \$5000 of this money has been provided by our War Victims Fund. This fund was established following our Chautauqua Conference in 1940, where the plan was begun of abstaining from one meal a week—or its equivalent—in order to send the money thus saved to our hungry brothers overseas. The project continues but now that more channels of aid can be opened than formerly, I recommend that more FOR families take part in it.²

I gratefully record the gift last summer of \$10,000 from George Paine for International FOR to be spent overseas in one year.

Continuing on the theme of enlarging the world communion of FOR members, the past year has witnessed a notable extension in South America. Our groups in Uruguay and Argentina began the employment on January 1 of a Secretary for South America. Señor J. Antonio Loureiro was selected for this job and although he is only employed half time, there has been a very gratifying response to his efforts and those of Earl Smith and others who initiated the work. We now have a full-fledged Continental Committee of the *Fraternidad de Reconciliación y Paz para la América Latina*, composed of members living in Argentina, Bolivia, Chile, Colombia, Mexico, Peru, Puerto Rico, and Uruguay. Sr. Luis E. Odell of Buenos Aires is Chairman. They have published three numbers of the first FOR magazine in Spanish; 5000 copies of a pamphlet containing a pacifist radio address by Earl Smith, and a leaflet on spiritual discipline by Muriel Lester. They have undertaken translation and publication of Allan Hunter's *White Corpuscles in Europe* and Richard Gregg's *The Power of Non-violence*. Last May Dr. E. Stanley Jones addressed large meetings under the auspices of the FOR in Buenos Aires and Montivideo.

Sr. Loureiro has recruited new members to the Fellowship in Evangelical Youth Camps and pastors' gatherings where he has been given positions of leadership. The Fellowship in the U. S. is contributing \$1600 to this work this year.

You will realize, of course, that only the barest beginning of work in a vast continent has been started, but the importance of a good spiritual beginning was impressed on me very much by the visit I made to our group in Mexico City last June. This group had been founded a year before on my previous visit. At the heart of it now is a close-knit cell including, besides its staunch Mexican members, refugees like Professor Jose Brocca and Jose Vidal, both of Spain, and Francisco Lichtenberg, a young medical student from Budapest and Berlin who speaks four languages. J. Taylor Reedy from California, who is General Secretary of the YMCA in Mexico City, and his wife belong. To share in the love of these persons and their devotion to total pacifism is an experience that will accompany me through life. What it means to exiles from home and country must be much more. Now we have to multiply such groups in cities all over the globe.

In the Far East the Fellowship has not been wiped out. The group planted in Japan which we know was meeting up to the time of Pearl Harbor is probably still continuing. We do not certainly know this since no communication has passed between them and us. In China, on the other hand,

we know positively that certain Chinese members have maintained their pacifist faith and that meetings have been held right along in Chengtu. Muriel Lester in England has started to raise a fund for the establishment of a Far Eastern Center such as P. C. Hsu, who was killed in an automobile accident in China a little over a year ago, dreamed about. Shortly before his death he and the group at Chengtu petitioned us to set up after the war somewhere in the East a Fellowship Secretariat manned by a Chinese, an Indian, Japanese or Russian, and a representative from the West. Muriel is planning to go to China as soon as the British Government will allow her to leave England.

V

The spiritual preparation out of which can come saints of great magnitude for the life of the age to come, is most of all a work of God that feeds a hungry multitude through media as small as five loaves and two fishes. Soon after the war broke out in 1939 Percy Bartlett, International FOR Secretary in London, managed to get over into Holland and send two post cards to Pastor Wilhelm Mensching, a leader of the FOR faith in Germany. Until this summer no answer came back through the mail, but we heard at various times in the dark night of the war that Mensching still refused to say "Heil Hitler" and that he was following through on the word he had given to Paul Harris that "It is better to light a candle than to curse the darkness." Last August Percy Bartlett received a letter from him in reply to the 1939 post cards. Among other things he said that he had put these post cards in his hymnal and taken them with him every Sunday to the church where he still continued as Pastor. There before God's altar, he wrote, "they regularly greet me and others as symbols of the continuing love you wrote about at that time."

So also I would pass along the word of Elizabeth Kustermeir of Berlin that Alice Shaffer reported from a conversation she had with her in that devastated city last July. Elizabeth Kustermeir and her husband Rudolph Kustermeir were both members of the FOR but they had been separated by prison and barbed wire for 12 years. Rudolph was found in the Belsen concentration camp when the American soldiers entered. In the course of one of our devastating air raids on Berlin Elizabeth Kustermeir lay hugging the earth in a shell hole. Last summer she said to Alice Shaffer, "In that shell hole I was steadied by persistently visualizing the faces of my friends in the FOR."

I do not know how many members of our Fellowship laid down their lives as martyrs in this war, but I have the names of eight. Probably among the first was Hermann Stoehr, a young German whom I remember well from meetings at conferences of the Fellowship in Germany which I attended. He was of the draft age, and beheaded as a conscientious objector in the Moabit penitentiary. Possibly among the last of our martyrs was Monsignor Max Josef Metzger, a Roman Catholic priest of Austria. I first met him in 1921 on my first visit for the Fellowship to Europe, at which time he was a member of IFOR Council. He was executed in a concentration camp for having protested in behalf of 500 priests against some sacrilegious order. Siegmund-Schultze has written that it was impossible for Metzger to send a last word to his friends, but "We know from his persecutors that he died in the faith of the reconciling Christ and in fellowship with all His followers."

² Contributions for this work should be marked for War Victims Fund and sent to the Fellowship of Reconciliation, 2929 Broadway, New York 25, N. Y.

Pacifists, Persist!

By RICHARD B. GREGG*

SOME CONSCIENTIOUS OBJECTORS who have served time in prison or in CPS camps are wondering whether their action accomplished anything real and permanent, whether it was constructive. If it was a good thing to do, how much was the margin of good over the losses? Was the accomplishment worth the price?

The difference between my freedom and my frustration, my liberty and my slavery, depends on whether my activity or my environment is in accordance with my inner desires and ideas. Those desires and ideas are quite intangible. Food, shelter and clothing are tangible, but even they cease to be desired when all significance and hope are taken away. That which makes concrete things important and makes life worth while is intangible. The forces which control men and the things they supremely desire are intangible. Meanings and values are imponderables.

Modern science reaches much the same conclusion. Research to find the ultimate nature of matter shows that matter consists of positive and negative charges of electricity engaged in complicated motions according to certain laws. Even the concepts of physical force and cause are no longer regarded as valid. Ultimate physical reality is a set of events according to laws or principles.

Hence it is clear that in both the inner world of man and the exterior world of phenomena, ultimate reality cannot be reported by our physical senses. It is wholly intangible, to be understood only by the mind, the emotions, and the imagination.

If this be so, then the question whether the actions, the yea-sayings, and the nay-sayings of men are valuable and constructive of reality is to be decided wholly in the realm of intangibles. It is a matter of what has happened among principles and ideas and of our relations to them. It is a moral and spiritual problem.

The Pacifist's Alternatives

To a true pacifist one of four things may happen. He may work freely for his ideals; he may be restricted by conscription to some form of CPS or non-combatant military service; he may be put in prison; or in some countries he may be punished by torture and death. For convenience these possibilities may be referred to as freedom, frustration, and death. (Both conscription and imprisonment usually mean frustration.)

Everyone realizes that when you work freely and devotedly for an idea or for an organization, you help make that idea or organization live. If you devote your energy to teaching school, you make education and the subject you teach live. If you are a farmer, you give life to that calling. If you are a soldier, you help make war a living institution. If you serve, say, the British Empire, you help make that variety of imperialism live and endure. If you devote your hours to theft or the illicit sale of opium, you make those evils live. Both good and evil are made living realities in the human world by the energies of men.

We also all realize that often a brief time of concentrated, intense effort will yield results equivalent to or even surpassing a long period of routine labor. This is especially true if, along with the intense effort, there is unusually clear understanding. A person who knows exactly what to do and how to do it, times his actions in skilful sequence, and applies much energy we call efficient. He gets the work done quickly. Usually he does more work than many other people, and in shorter time than any of them.

Influence of Self-sacrifice

Voluntary work, acceptance of compulsory service, going to prison, and undergoing death, for the sake of principle, are all forms of self-sacrifice. Sacrifice is a giving up of something that is good in order to get or create something that is better. The literal meaning of sacrifice is "to make sacred." Anything is made sacred by giving it completely to a higher end. Voluntary work, acceptance of compulsory service, going to prison, or going to death, for the sake of principle, are all gifts of energy to that principle, and help to make it live. But they do more than transfer the life-energy of the individual giver to the principle. They alter the energies of other people, and they almost always create followers who in their turn help make the principle live.

Every person's actions and manifested thoughts and feelings influence other people. We are all of us always in a web of action and reaction, a surrounding tissue of living interrelationships. No man, even if he be in a desert or in solitary confinement in a prison, is in a vacuum of human meaning or influence. The influence and relationship may sometimes seem tenuous or infrequent or broken; indeed the influence usually is subtle, but it always exists. We can by training increase our awareness of the constancy, the strength, and the modes of operation of this influence. Its effectiveness is never fully revealed till a later time. But so far as we have will and intelligence we have some control over that effectiveness. This means that each person's choices, his nay-sayings as well as his yea-sayings, set an example and influence others. This is especially true, of course, when his ideas and purposes are widely understood. Those others may be immediately present as onlookers and hearers, or may be far away in space or time. Those who are most influenced—influenced sufficiently to follow the example—are those who are sensitive to that type of influence, ready to receive that stimulus. One can never tell where and when such sensitive people will be found or will develop. One can never foresee where or when some seeds of thought or emotion will sprout and take root and grow and bear fruit in their turn. The influence may travel by sight or by spoken or written word. The fruit may not be visible till years afterward. Though only one person follows, nevertheless the principle lives. But often several follow. Then the original choice bears much fruit. Even those who are seemingly opposed to the example are hampered by the dragging effect of those who, though not yet ready to follow, are compelled by the example to stop and

ponder. History proves beyond all doubt that such followings occur, often in most astonishing fashion. The strong opposition to conscientious objectors by all governments is another proof of the power of example. All the choices of every person help alter the world. No choice is without effect. The law of conservation of energy applies not only in the physical realm but also in the moral realm.

In the extreme case where the CO is punished by death or dies in jail or on CPS duty of some sort, he gives to the cause his entire present and potential energy quickly. However, a principle can be made to live not only by the swift complete gift of dying for it, or by gradually giving it energy through prolonged daily work for it, but also, if done understandingly and voluntarily, by undergoing for its sake the daily frustration involved in going to prison or to CPS camp. Voluntary suffering for peace is a way of working for the cause. It not only opposes war: it makes people think and subsequently creates followers. Of all the modes of giving energy for a principle, those which require sublimation of frustration are usually the most difficult. To come through frustration without psychological scars requires love, a clear, deep understanding, and a disciplined will.

A Spiritual Principle

All this is summed up in the spiritual principle of self-sacrifice, which is an essential element in all the great religions. In the Christian religion we have the verses, "Except a grain of wheat fall into the ground and die, it abideth alone; but if it die it bringeth forth much fruit"; "For whosoever will save his life shall lose it; but whosoever will lose his life for my sake and the gospel's shall save it." These sayings apply to daily work and to values of all sorts.

This principle is necessarily true. The very nature of the world of space and time requires constant change of forms. Forms wear out. In order that the essence, the meaning, the spirit, the life, of forms may endure, old forms must perish and disappear and new forms must be created to carry on the life with renewed vigor. In a world whose essence is motion and change, a timeless principle can live only by constant repetition of temporary forms that embody it. In order to have that repetition there must be sacrifice of the old to make place for the new. If the forms are self-conscious, there is awareness of the loss of the old forms. But where there is also awareness of the essence, the principle, the spirit, there is acceptance of the temporal loss and a serene, secure joy in the realization of the eternal life of the spirit. The effectiveness of self-sacrifice is in the realm of ultimate, enduring reality. But that reality is creative and, in the course of time, manifests itself in concrete forms in the world.

Love an Essential

One more point which is only suggested above. In order that the giving of energy in all its forms—freedom, frustration, or death—may be fully effective, it must be done with love. Love is the sentiment that grows out of an awareness of the unity that underlies all human differences. Only if love is present can there be a full understanding of the operation of spiritual forces and thereby an ability skilfully to guide their expression and cheerfully endure all hardships. Love has a more stimulating quality

than any other sentiment. It is more enduring. It goes deeper. It raises more followers. Since love is an essential quality of the spirit, austere self-sacrifice without love is an incomplete gift. The action without love is so crippled that it lacks spiritual power and is ineffective. Involuntary sufferings lack this element and are therefore ineffective. And such historical instances of voluntary suffering as were apparently a failure may well have been so for lack of love. As St. Paul said in I Cor. 13:3, "Though I bestow all my goods to feed the poor, and though I give my body to be burned, and have not love, it profiteth me nothing."

And let us remember that love is not just an emotion. It is a sentiment, a psychological organization of ideas and emotions. We cannot pump up an emotion to order, but we can choose what ideas we will entertain and ponder. And since our inner life does not operate in separate compartments, each idea has an inevitable fringe of intrinsic emotions. If we make our imagination dwell on many kinds of human unity, gradually there will grow up in us the sentiment of love, for that sentiment is a consequence of the realization of that unity. So the command to "love your enemies" is psychologically possible as well as morally admirable.

Results Assured

For these reasons CO's should have courage and keep cheerful, knowing that their sacrifices have not been in vain. Both in their refusals to go to war and in their positive contributions they have dealt effectively with ultimate reality. They have made an ideal live more vigorously in the world of men. They need not be discouraged merely because they do not now see much result. Many of the results will not appear until twenty years have passed. The results are living things and they take time to grow, as much time as it takes for a baby to become an adult. Building always goes more slowly than destruction, and we are trying to build a new civilization.

Since destroying usually takes less time than making, it may well be that most historians and the general run of people who attach great significance and importance to wars, do so because their unit of significant time measurement is too short. If so, we may say that peacemakers in their study of history and in their judgments of what events are significant must use a longer time-scale than the average person. We must not allow those who are obsessed with the importance of destruction and whose significant time-phase is relatively short to compress our longer time-phase and overbear our judgment.

We cannot expect our present warring human environment to be favorable to the spirit. Yet if we persist in faith the environment will yield to the long-continued application of spiritual energy. The historical argument that, because through all the ages it never has been done, it never can be done, is invalid. If it were valid, man would not now be flying. For thousands of years man wished he could fly. Not until he learned enough about the forces involved could he do it. But he kept on wanting; he refused to give up trying. Now he flies. Not until recently could there be relativity and quantum physics. "Ask and ye shall receive, seek and ye shall find, knock and it shall be opened unto you." "Thy will be done on earth as it is in heaven." These words were not spoken in mockery, nor as poetic hyperbole. Persist, persist, persist!

Europe's People Face Starvation Unless America Sends Aid

Europe must have food—and immediately—or a million of her people will die during the winter. Europe asks for enough food to meet the minimum subsistence level of 2,000 calories per person daily. Their average under present conditions is from 1,300 to 1,500, while in the United States we get an estimated 3,200, and our Army troops get 3,800 to 5,000.

Early in October the U. S. Department of Agriculture suggested that our sugar-rationing period might be shortened if 1,600,000 tons of sugar left behind in Java ports by the Japanese were added to the world supply, and if the United States received her allocation of approximately half of the amount. Yet if this unexpected supply of sugar were used for relief in Europe it would more than double the present supply in the nine liberated countries for a whole year; if distributed among 300,000 people in Europe, who have had a very scant supply, it would provide an average of 10.7 pounds per person, more than half their estimated annual supply. And we still consume an average of 72 pounds per person.

If the starving peoples are to reach even the minimum subsistence requirement of 2,000 calories, 35 million tons of food will have to go into such areas as: 1) the liberated countries, 2) former enemy countries—Germany, Italy, Austria, Japan, and 3) countries that normally import large supplies of food, as England. The United States has enough export surpluses to supply all major needs of the hungry nations with the exception of fats and oils. Therefore, we must bear the main responsibility for averting wholesale starvation and pestilence. "Rarely, if ever since the Dark Ages, has a whole continent faced a winter of such hopeless deprivation," reports the Associated Press of London.

Many organizations are making urgent pleas to their members and to the public at large to focus attention on this whole question at once. "Food for Freedom" has appealed to President Truman with a seven-point request summarized below:

1) To direct the Secretary of Agriculture to set aside all possible food to send to our friends overseas.

2) To regard such allocations as firm commitments and give them priority to ensure delivery.

3) To continue food rationing as long as necessary to provide the largest possible shipments of food abroad.

4) To use the essential foods released by Army cutbacks to fulfill our promises before these foods are allowed to flow into the rapidly increasing domestic supply.

5) To continue support of the UNRRA appropriations including our second

installment of one per cent of our 1943 national income, which the President has said "is fully justified."

6) To give the public full information about the need and what the government is doing to meet it.

7) Above all—to speed action, since by December 1 the hunger-stricken people of Europe will be winter-bound and facing imminent death.

Attempts to arouse the people of the United States to act *now*, in the name of humanity, and avert mass starvation are being made by such organizations as the Joint Peace Board, the Friends Committee on National Legislation, the Church Committee on Overseas Relief and Reconstruction, and the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom. At least three points are stressed by most of these groups as needing action on the part of all interested persons:

1) Write to Congress, urging full appropriation to UNRRA (in spite of UNRRA's shortcomings.)

2) Write to President Truman and to Secretary of State Byrnes, urging an adequate program of food allocation and shipment of same to all needy countries, including Germany and Japan.

3) Do everything possible to assure continuation of rationing in the United States as long as necessary to assure shipments of meats, fats, oils, and sugar to help meet minimum subsistence requirements abroad.

Ashland COs Continue Anti Jim Crow Strike

Eight CO's at the Federal Prison at Ashland, Kentucky, two of them now at Lewisburg, are entering their sixth month of an anti-jim crow strike begun there last June when the warden refused to establish an eating arrangement where those inmates who desired to do so could eat without racial discrimination.

Of the fourteen men originally on the Ashland strike two Negro non-CO's, Charles Hall and Phillip Brooks, were immediately transferred to other prisons; George Yamada, Japanese-American was subsequently transferred to Danbury; Bjorn Eikrem was transferred to Sandstone and may still be on strike there; Bayard Rustin and Rodney Owen were removed to the prison at Lewisburg where they are still on the anti-jim crow strike; William Hefner was released from Ashland on August 27; and the six men still on strike at Ashland are: Arnold Satterthwaite, Alfred Partridge, John Neubrand, Jason Hopkins, Arden Bode, and Morris Horowitz.

The men on strike at Ashland and Lewisburg have been living in a modified form of solitary confinement since

the beginning of the strike, their sole crime being their refusal to eat in racially segregated dining halls. (Simultaneously our government bans all regulations in Germany and Japan which support racial or religious discrimination.)

Recently, when one of the prison administration indicated that there could be no settlement of the strike with inmates not co-operating, five men who were co-operating and in good standing in the prison, led by Francis Hall and Bill Richards, petitioned the warden for an interracial eating place. This request was also denied by the warden.

About the first of August, Congressman Adam Clayton Powell, Jr., wrote to Attorney General Clark requesting a full report on the jim crow policy practiced in federal prisons. Powell's letter to Clark was apparently turned over to Conner, Acting Director of the Bureau of Prisons, whose subsequent answer Powell characterized as ranging "from evasion of the issue to misstatement of facts." For example, in his reply Mr. Conner declared, "In our inquiries into the matter we have learned that practically all members of both races prefer the present arrangement, that they have no complaint whatever." Powell says, "this conclusion is utterly false," and cited as proof the protest by non-CO's which eliminated jim crow seating at the federal house of detention in New York, and a more recent protest against jim crow by non-CO Negroes at Lewisburg.

With regard to the warden's attitude toward jim crow practices at the Ashland institution, it is only fair to point out that during the present warden's regime (Dr. Hagerman) the practice of racial segregation has been completely eliminated from seating in the church services and from the sports program, and this latter in spite of considerable pressure from outside ball teams to try to change the pattern back to jim crow ball teams. Also segregation has been partially eliminated in the seating arrangement at the movies, and the racial discrimination originally practiced in job placements has been considerably reduced.

There is every reason to believe that in a totalitarian setup such as the institution of the federal prisons, practices of racial discrimination can be abandoned. In the opinion of this writer they are being continued in a place like Ashland primarily to perpetuate the conditioning of both whites and Negroes to the theory of white supremacy. Pending some solution of the problem, these eight CO's should not be locked up 22 hours out of 24 in cells 6' x 9' just because they are opposed to jim crow in the dining hall. Readers are strongly urged to write to A. H. Conner, Acting Director of the Bureau of Prisons, Department of Justice, Washington 25, D. C., demanding that these jim crow strikers no longer be punished.

WILLIAM K. HEFNER.

Action Projects Succeed in CORE Summer Campaign in Chicago

The first CORE Summer Campaign proved to be a success, according to a report of the Chicago project, issued by George M. Houser who organized and directed the work. Three purposes were set down in outlining plans for the Campaign: to test the effectiveness of an interracial group of workers who would give full time to action projects against discrimination; to train a group of experienced workers in the use of non-violent action techniques; to co-operate with local organizations in their programs against discrimination. In spite of the project's limitation to a two-month period, conclusive proof was given that this kind of approach does fulfill the stated objectives.

Eighteen full-time volunteer workers participated in the Campaign, 6 of the volunteers being Negroes. Chicago branches of the Urban League, NAA CP, and CORE co-operated in every way possible.

Housing, employment, and the YMCA were the three primary areas covered by action projects. The workers arrived in Chicago at an opportune time—when reactionary property owners' organizations on the South Side were vigorously protesting the housing of Negro Wacs, working in the Gardiner Hospital for wounded and sick veterans, in barracks near the hospital and in the exclusive Hyde Park area. In co-operation with the Chicago Council Against Racial and Religious Discrimination, the summer group called a meeting of liberal residents from that area and overt action on the part of the property owners' associations was avoided.

Chicago's South Side housing problem is largely due to restrictive covenants—a system enforced by the property owners' associations to keep Negroes hemmed into a ghetto. Development of the Better Community Pledge is probably the most important aspect of the Campaign group's work, according to the volunteers themselves. Often white property owners uphold the restrictive covenant because they feel that property values go down with the coming of Negroes into a community, but they fail to study the sociological facts of neighborhood deterioration and find that a community does not deteriorate because Negroes move into it, but because it becomes overcrowded; and it happens that Negroes often cause the overcrowding because they are restricted to a very limited area by covenants. The Better Community Pledge provides that anyone of any race or nationality will be free to move into any community where there are vacancies on agreement to uphold occupancy and sanitation standards set by city ordinances. The Hyde Park-Kenwood Improve-

ment Committee was formed and had begun promotion of the Pledge among home owners and residents in the area when the summer project closed.

The problem of employment was approached in co-operation with the Women's Division of the Chicago Urban League which had been working for two years to convince 10 large department stores in the Loop area that they ought to employ Negro as well as white sales clerks. At least 5 of the stores had a high percentage of Negro trade, yet these same stores had practically no Negro employees in any capacity and none had Negro sales clerks. Managers of the stores, when asked their reasons for not up-grading Negro employees, gave the usual answer—patrons would take their business to other stores if Negro clerks served them! To test the validity of this answer, the Campaign group conducted a public opinion poll among white patrons of the five stores and discovered that 69 per cent would be willing to be served by Negro clerks. On the basis of this information, the Mayor's Committee on Race Relations voted to follow up the work of the Campaign group with a conference of department store managers.

Action in the case of the YMCA was to test the reported existence of a resolution forbidding discrimination in any of its branches. An interracial group, attempting to swim at the Central branch, found that the resolution was not in force. Conferences were held with officials who attributed their slowness in breaking down discrimination within the YMCA to "their conservative boards." A statement urging the YMCA to forsake its discriminatory policy was left with the local CORE group to be circulated among prominent citizens and then presented to YMCA officials.

The experience of the Chicago Campaign group convinced them that other such projects should be set up next summer and that steps should be taken to develop a year-round non-violent action project in this field.

Soldiers Condemn War

A man who has given much thought to his own position in the military service and who has had many opportunities through teaching and counseling to talk with those in the service writes:

"My work has brought me into intimate contact with many men, and it never ceases to amaze me that the belief most common to men in the Army is that all war is wrong. But they do not know how to resist it personally, nor how to stay out of the Army. Therefore, I have come to the definite conclusion that what is needed to bring

more people to an effective, realistic, religious-pacifist belief is a more widespread and more intensive campaign to show people that they do not have to do anything they do not wish to do, that they could stay out of the Army if they really didn't believe in war (even if prison were the result), and that wars simply couldn't be fought if the 'little man' would refuse to fight in them.

"Many will say to this, 'Yes, but I am only one man. There are so few who will do this. What good can one man do?' This brings out the point that there is also needed a much wider spread campaign to point out that there always have to be 'firsts,' and that one man's stand will inspire others—and even if it doesn't, he, at least, is not living a lie. But if I were to pick out who should be influenced first, I would say school teachers and preachers—much more work needs to be done, it seems to me, to bring the so-called Christian ministers to a deeper understanding of the real meaning and implications of true Christianity."

Shortsighted CO Policy

News columns recently have carried startling accounts of the sufferings of tens of thousands of Europeans, but how many readers are aware that these suffering people are being deprived of help as a result of a rider on the Army Appropriation Bill passed by our Congress for the third consecutive year? This piece of legislation prevents conscientious objectors from doing overseas relief work in spite of the fact that such organizations as UNRRA, Greek War Relief, United China Relief, the Near East Foundation, the American Friends Service Committee, the Brethren Service Committee, and the Mennonite Central Committee have sought the use of CO's for their foreign programs. It is a short-sighted Congress that refuses to allow trained social workers, architects, engineers, medical technicians, and others in CPS to use their skills in alleviating the suffering of human beings rather than wasting these skills on "wood-chopping." Our Congressmen apparently are heeding the advice of the House Military Affairs Committee, reported by *Worldover Press* as evincing "a fear that such work would 'glamorize' pacifists in the eyes of the American public and win sympathy for their position."

Prison Conference

A group of 50 persons recently held a two-day exploratory conference on the prison system. The 27 former CO prisoners in the group had been inmates of 10 federal institutions. Much of the discussion revolved around reform versus abolition, but the conference was in agreement that attention might legitimately be given to working for changes within the present system "with the purpose in mind of making the lot of

imprisoned persons today easier." Immediate ends were seen to be: 1) divorce the chaplaincy from prison administration, 2) independent legal aid for men in prison, 3) all time in jail before sentence to count, also time spent in appealing, 4) paid work at union wages, or dependency allotments, 5) an end to censorship.

Germany and Japan Had Conscientious Objectors

During the First World War a number of men resisted military conscription in Germany, according to an article appearing in the summer issue of *The War Resister*, published by the War Resisters' International headquarters in England. Most of the pacifists were Seventh Day Adventists; there were a few intellectuals. The Adventists were sent to prison, the intellectuals to lunatic asylums! Extensive peace organizations grew up between 1918 and 1933:

Union of Resisters to All War Service

All-German People's Movement
Peace Society of German Catholics
The German Peace Society
The Women's International League for Peace and Freedom
Pacifist Union of German Students
Circle of Young Jewish Pacifists
Group of Revolutionary Pacifists
German Branch of the FOR
The Society of Friends
German World Youth League

In 1939 the whole movement was broken up when many of its members were driven from the country or detained in concentration camps because of their pacifism. When conscription was re-introduced, however, many of the individual members remained in Germany and unflinchingly faced the consequences of their refusal to participate in the war.

Bits of news seeping out of Japan indicate that a considerable anti-militarist feeling was present at the outbreak of the war and has continued to make itself felt. A recent release from *Worldover Press* quoted British sources as saying they had definite information that more than 20,000 Japanese had been confined in concentration camps for anti-war demonstrations. *The London Daily Express* carried a story in May that Prince Yauhito Chichibu, "pacifist brother" of Emperor Hirohito, had been released after spending two years in "honorable preventative detention," and Kagawa himself has been jailed three times since 1941. All men of the Seventh Day Adventists were imprisoned, said to have been between four and five thousand by headquarters in this country, and Max Kampelman called attention, in September's *The Conscientious Objector*, to the fact that censorship has prevented information reaching the United States that thousands of workers went on strike against the war from 1941 on.

Jottings

Senator J. William Fulbright of Arkansas has introduced a bill (S. 1440) providing an amendment to the Surplus Property Act of 1944, that would channel credits established through the sale of surplus war properties abroad to the promotion of international good will through the exchange of students in the fields of education, culture, and science. The bill has been referred to the Senate Committee on Military Affairs.

* * *

The Conscientious Objector quotes *Human Events* as carrying an article asserting that "reliable sources now confirm the story that a proposal for peace with Japan—materially the same as that concluded recently—was presented to President Roosevelt last January, before his trip to Yalta, by none other than General MacArthur." The offer is reported to have reached MacArthur through British channels and MacArthur is said to have "strongly recommended" that negotiations be started.

* * *

Vera Brittain writes that all during the war years she endeavored through her *Letter to Peace Lovers* "constantly to remind us both that the international conduct of Germany and Japan was not the cause, but the occasion, of the two Great Wars which we have known. The roots of their conduct lay deep in economic insecurity, produced by an inequitable distribution of the earth's resources, with the accompanying phenomena of widespread poverty, undernourishment and unemployment. This basic disease of our civilization has been a seed-bed for those political and psychological tensions which produced the gangster-leaders who exploited the misery of their peoples for their own ends."

* * *

Common Sense, a magazine with a consistent progressive editorial policy, has stepped out front with the first appointment of a Negro as managing editor of a national monthly. He is James Ivy who began his new work on September 4, coming from nearly 20 years experience in the writing field. He has served as assistant editor of *Crisis*, publication of the NAACP, as review editor of *Messenger*, Negro socialist monthly, and American correspondent for *Courier Des Noirs*, French-Negro publication.

* * *

Reconciliation, organ of the Latin American FOR, carries an extract

from a letter sent by the Argentine Federation of Young People's Evangelical Leagues to President Edelmiro J. Farrell, which says "Calling upon the principle of respect for human personality which arises from the life and teachings of Jesus Christ, we urge upon your Excellency the adoption of provisions favorable to those persons who, for justifiable reasons of conscience, of religious, philosophical etc., inclination, cannot engage in military or warlike acts; requesting that without prejudice they be assigned some civil duty which will require of them a courage no less than that which could lawfully be asked of them for military or warlike ends."

* * *

Word has been sent out by the editors of *South Today* that the publication will be temporarily discontinued because of the calls upon the time of one of the editors, Lillian Smith, for other matters. Publishers of the magazine hope eventually to find "just the right person to take over the managing editorship" of the paper and that its present editors, "functioning as contributing editors, will be able through this medium to share their thoughts" with all who have found value in the magazine.

* * *

"I have been analyzing the list of 'dangerous Britishers' which was discovered at Gestapo headquarters in Germany," writes Maurice Cranston of *Worldover Press*. "An interesting conclusion emerges. The body of opinion the Nazis seemed to think most necessary to suppress, if they invaded England, was that of the pacifists! All the prominent members of the British anti-war movement are on the list. . . . So here is documentary evidence," he declares, "that the Nazis, ruthless and powerful as they were, feared the prospect of people armed with nothing but their moral convictions."

* * *

We wish we had space in these columns to quote from the *Castañer Newsletter* just received, which contains the third semi-annual report of the Martin G. Brumbaugh Reconstruction Unit, sponsored by the Brethren Service Committee in Puerto Rico. Enclosed with the letter is a 16-page pamphlet, fully illustrated with photographs, describing the CPS program in the Caribbean, as sponsored by the Brethren, the Mennonite Central Committee, and the American Friends Service Committee.

FOR Field Secretaries

South: Constance Rumbough, 1804 Grand Avenue, Nashville 4, Tenn.; Midwest: Emerson Schwenk, 740 Rush Street, Chicago 11, Ill.; Northwest: Mary Farquharson, 1406 East 40th St., Seattle 5, Wash.; Northern California: Orval Etter, 2151 Vine Street, Berkeley 7, Cal.; Southwest: Louise Rounds, 3302 S. Grand Ave., Los Angeles 7, Cal.; Rocky Mountain: Margaret Eberhard, 440 E. 13th Ave., Denver 3, Colo.; Action Projects: George Houser, 1850 E. 81st St., Cleveland 3, Ohio; Middle Atlantic: James E. Bristol, Room 900, 1831 Chestnut St., Philadelphia 3, Pa.

The Peacemaker's Bookshelf

No Victors

The Brick Foxhole. By Richard Brooks. Harper and Brothers, 1945. 238 pages. \$2.50.

With savage, bitter strokes Richard Brooks, himself a Marine and one of Uncle Sam's "citizen soldiers," smears the colors of khaki-green and red into a picture of sordid, hate-filled barracks at Quantico, Va., and the feverish search of its "prisoners" for release in "D. C." *The Brick Foxhole* is a week-end saga of bitterness, disillusionment, drunkenness, sex, perversion, and murder. A saga with combat warfare as only a distant backdrop, but with military restrictions—meaningless close-order drill, K. P., lack of privacy, the stench of men close-packed—and race prejudice and obscene scuttlebutt forming the rigid framework in which the tragedy is enacted. And like a Greek tragedy, *The Foxhole* has no heroes—only victims.

The victims? Jeff Mitchell, Pvt., who "didn't belong in the service, but who does?"; Max Brock, the Jewish boy who needed to prove that he could fight and that his race was as good as that of the Jew-haters like Monty Crawford; Jeff's wife, Mary; Ginny, the prostitute who was not only the victim of the military but of another kind of social cancer; even Pete Keeley, the philosopher-soldier who died in mortal combat with Monty, symbol of the evil he hated.

Monty was the kind of sergeant for whom the military is glory and pride and a chance to order men around, to make them listen to his profanity directed at "the niggers," "the Kikes," "the polacks," "the frogs." He died cursing "the mick" who killed him. Monty can receive no consideration as a victim, for he was a part of Ignorance and The Military, modern versions of the inexorable Fate of the Greek tragedy.

"Kill or be killed," the slogan that belongs to the armed forces, belonged peculiarly to Monty, for Monty identified himself with "The Service." Jeff claimed the slogan in a desperate effort to become part of the war-and-hero-worshipping world. Only Pete, who had seen combat, rejected it.

"Yes, thought Keeley: every single act and utterance made by any man or woman affected every other man and woman in the world in some way. The unknown man who died unjustly in the dark alley of a Hungarian city left a blot on justice throughout the world. The Greek child whose belly is bloated with rickets today will haunt us tomorrow. These things Keeley knew. He knew we were all part of the whole, and that no man can say he stands alone."

But in the end he accepted and used the slogan. In the end in half-drunk madness he planned his campaign against Monty, who gloried in the kill-

ing of a Negro veteran, who was himself the "righteous" killer of a "queer" white civilian. Some may say Pete was a hero, losing his life in trying to balance the scales of justice . . . a fool-hardy one, perhaps, since the police were, at the moment of the struggle, on their way to pick Monty up . . . but nonetheless a hero.

But in this age of "realism," one must ask—To what end? Who wins—the Montys or the Petes? Can one deal with Montys by killing them? Is war a solution? The questions are not posed by Richard Brooks . . . they are implied, because *The Foxhole* has no victors, only vanquished.

MARJIE CARPENTER.

Peace or Revenge?

Toward the Understanding of Europe. By Ethan T. Colton. Association Press, 1944. 86 pages. \$1.00.

Within the compass of less than one hundred pages, Ethan T. Colton traces the reasons for the failing peace efforts of a generation ago and suggests ways in which similar efforts may succeed today. His active work for more than forty years with the International YMCA has given him an excellent understanding of the hereditary enmities which have plagued Europe for centuries. Especially has his long experience in Russia contributed to his appreciation of the important part that the USSR will play in the new peace.

The United States shared in the blame for not catching the "torch thrown on Flanders Field" when, without a national policy, it fumbled the crisis between Wilson and the Senate. The balance of power, open and secret alliances, and allegiances to the status quo have been large contributors to the kind of Europe the world has now.

The First World War broke out in a Europe torn by "racial impasses that perpetuate continental disunity." Many irreconcilabilities were found there. Poland quarrelled with Germany in the Polish Corridor, with Czechoslovakia in Teschen, and with Russia in the East. Bohemians were at enmity with Germans and Slovaks. Czechs, Slovaks, Ruthenians, Rumanians, Serbs, Croats, and South Germans all contended with the Magyars in the Danubian lands. Bulgars, Serbs, Croats, Slovenes, and Slavonians alternated in periods of war and peace in the Balkans, and Bulgars, Greeks, and Turks carried on their blood feud there. In addition, Italians, Slavs, Germans, and French struggled for years with their Adriatic and Mediterranean antagonisms.

In 1919, we failed to learn that we could have either peace or revenge, but not both. This time, will we "turn the victory we will buy with a great price into a reign of justice" and participate more effectively in the outlawry of the whole war system? That is the question Mr. Colton poses in his effort to

impel our democracy to find out now where it ought to go and to see that the government takes us there.

H. F. HANCOX.

Vibrant Christianity

The Constant Fire. By Allan Knight Chalmers. Scribners, 1945. 172 pages. \$2.00.

Occasionally even the critical reviewer gets a book which he can endorse without hesitation or reserve. For its purposes, *The Constant Fire* is that kind of book. It is whole wheat for the general reader. Obviously it is not for the technical scholar, containing no analysis of the processes of baking or the why of the ingredients. It simply is good, solid food for all.

The Constant Fire is centrally and vibrantly Christian. Few books ring as true as does this. It is, besides, well written. The style is strong and clear, flowing and rich. The illustrations and citations are ample and from general literature. The content is "existential," that is, of a critical or decisive personal and social importance which is as unavoidable as life itself. *The Constant Fire* is "the Flame that is Jesus" in the concrete "Human Situation."

The remedy Dr. Chalmers offers for the stubborn human situation, which he in no way smooths over, faces in the third part of the book tests of application. In this section, "The Marks of a Christian," he shows deep insight into the relation between the permanent gospel and the social gospel. We can all be immensely encouraged to know that the gospel is being preached like this, pacifism unashamed and unabated included, and by a vibrant personality which pulses through the whole volume.

NELS F. S. FERRE.

Pearl Harbor Blame

The Final Secret of Pearl Harbor. By John T. Flynn. September, 1945. 16 pages. 25¢. Quantity discounts.

Flynn here reveals facts he deemed it unwise to publish in his *The Truth About Pearl Harbor* during the war. Now he openly charges Roosevelt with complete responsibility for the Pearl Harbor disaster, purposely provoking Japan's attack, overruling the judgment of the top naval officers, and then suppressing facts to divert criticism from himself to Kimmel and Short. Flynn shows that the President and his Secretaries of War, Navy, and State knew ahead of time, by intercepted Japanese code messages, when the Japanese attack would come, but failed to warn our Pacific forces! Flynn answers the criticism that a dead man should not be thus criticized by pointing out that two living men—Kimmel and Short—are being persecuted and defamed and refused a trial in order to protect the dead man's reputation. He charges Truman with maintaining Roosevelt's policy of secrecy, and demands revelation of all the facts.

Pro and Con

Puerto Rico

The Editors,
FELLOWSHIP:

I am grateful that the Chalmers-Sayre report calls for the ending of our imperialism in Puerto Rico. But the central political issue is dealt with superficially. It is taken for granted that the United States should offer Puerto Rico her choice of independence, statehood, or dominion status, with no discussion of the weighty arguments we have advanced against statehood and dominion status. Surely what we offer must be consistent with the welfare, not of Puerto Rico alone, as our "self-determination" friends seem to assume, but of Puerto Rico, Latin America, the United States, and the world.

Statehood would be an unnatural thing for Puerto Rico and dangerous for our Latin American relations. Puerto Rico belongs to Latin America, and not to us. Three Latin American republics lie between us. It is significant that scores of the weightiest Latin American bodies, including the parliaments of Chile, Cuba, Guatemala and Argentina, the Pan-American Women's Peace Congress, the Caribbean Conference, and the Confederation of Trade Unions of Latin America, have petitioned our Government for Puerto Rico's independence and the release of her political prisoners. Statehood for Puerto Rico, in the eyes of Latin America, suspicious of the Colossus of the North, would mean annexation as the culmination of our imperialistic and pauperizing relation to her.

Dominion status would be unhealthy for our relations with Latin America and the world at large. It would also be unnatural, for we have no common language, culture, or crown, as do the British dominions. We oppose the Plebiscite Bill's pseudo-dominion-status because it would leave Puerto Rico under the economic and military domination of the United States.

The report implies that we have been hasty and irresponsible in urging independence for Puerto Rico in view of the economic difficulties in which it would place her. We have always stressed American responsibility for Puerto Rico's economic rehabilitation. We have endorsed the most thoroughly reasoned set of economic amendments yet to appear—those proposed by the Congress for Independence in Puerto Rico, through Prof. Juan Enrique Soltero, Associate Professor of Economics in the University of Puerto Rico, in the Senate Hearings in which we participated last March.

The report is in error in referring to "Senator Tydings' former bill (S.227)". S.227 is the *real* Tydings Bill, which the Senator, Chairman of the Committee on Territories and Insular Affairs, continues to urge, having consented to introduce the Plebiscite Bill (S.1002) only as a matter of courtesy at the request of the Puerto Rican Commission. He has declared that he will take due account, in revising his own bill, S.227, of the economic amendments urged by Puerto Ricans in the Senate hearings. It will also provide for a referendum as to whether Puerto Rico prefers independence or wider local self-government. We hold

A PAGE OF COMMENT BY READERS

Readers are invited to contribute to this page. Please keep letters brief, since space is severely limited.

that, especially from the standpoint of the F.O.R., the Plebiscite Bill, conceived in terms of appeasement of Big-Navy Imperialism, is a thoroughly unworthy proposal, and that the real Tydings Bill, S.227, merits our support.

It is adding insult to injury to have the case of Don Pedro Albizu Campos, who has already suffered untold wrongs at the hands of Americans, become a foot-ball of pacifist controversy. I have never said Albizu Campos was a pacifist. I admit I was ill-advised in calling him, because of his non-cooperation movement and his great spirit, "the Gandhi of Puerto Rico." The report paints him all black. The leading Latin American woman poet calls him "the greatest living Spanish American." Bayard Rustin, after a summer in Puerto Rico, said of him, "That's the man they count next to God in Puerto Rico." Bayard reported that, time and again while in the island he was told one story, the conventional one, in the front room, and a very different one in the back room after he, also a victim of white American domination, had won the confidence of his host.

Other disturbing questions: If Don Pedro trained his people for *violent* revolt, why did they *never* use *group* violence, as shown by the American Civil Liberties Union investigation? If the authorities *really* thought him a terrorist, why was he offered pardon the day after his sentence if he would only *ask* for it? And why did they pack the jury, as there is every evidence? Why, if Don Pedro had instigated these acts of violence, were they unable to prove it in a U. S.

court on the spot in a most repressive period? Should an F.O.R. report retail such allegations, unprovable in open court, on hearsay a decade later? Why, in effect, denounce the violence of sporadic *resistors* of our tyranny and overlook the provocation of the Palm Sunday Massacre and other American atrocities of that period?

Surely an American report on our relation to Puerto Rico can be true to the spirit of reconciliation only as it approaches our task of practical national repentance in an attitude of humility and atonement.

JAY HOLMES SMITH, *Chairman*
American League for Puerto Rico's Independence.

The Editors,
FELLOWSHIP:

I was disappointed to find that the editors, in condensing my article in October *Fellowship*, obscured the main point. What I stated clearly and underlined in the original manuscript was that prisons are beyond reform. Prison, like war, is destructive and wasteful. Our only hope is that one day both institutions will be eliminated. Neither can be "reformed."

WALT TAYLOR.

The Editors,
FELLOWSHIP:

Current investigations of "Pearl Harbor" seem to be concentrated on whether or not our diplomats were guilty of involving us in a war with Japan "before we were adequately prepared for it" rather than whether or not war could have been averted entirely. It seems that the question of whether or not war could have been avoided is deliberately ignored and that the other question is being strongly emphasized to distract attention from the former.

HOWARD L. NAGLE.

STATEMENT OF THE OWNERSHIP, MANAGEMENT, CIRCULATION, ETC., REQUIRED BY THE ACTS OF CONGRESS OF AUGUST 24, 1912 AND MARCH 3, 1933. Of *Fellowship* published monthly, at New York, N. Y., for October 1, 1945.

STATE OF NEW YORK } ss:
COUNTY OF NEW YORK }

Before me, a Notary Public in and for the State and county aforesaid, personally appeared J. Elliott Finlay, who, having been duly sworn according to law, deposes and says that he is the managing editor of the *Fellowship* magazine, and that the following is, to the best of his knowledge and belief, a true statement of the ownership, management, etc., of the aforesaid publication for the date shown in the above caption, required by the Act of August 24, 1912, as amended by the Act of March 3, 1933, embodied in section 537, Postal Laws and Regulations, printed on reverse of this form, to wit:

1. That the names and addresses of the publisher, editor, managing editor, and business managers are: Publisher, Fellowship of Reconciliation, 2929 Broadway, New York, N. Y.; Editors, John Nevin Sayre and A. J. Muste, 2929 Broadway, New York, N. Y.; Managing Editor, J. Elliott Finlay, 2929 Broadway, New York, N. Y.; Business Manager, None.

2. That the owner is: Fellowship of Reconciliation, 2929 Broadway, New York, N. Y. Phillips P. Elliott, Chairman, 124 Henry Street, Brooklyn, N. Y.; A. J. Muste, and John Nevin Sayre, Secretaries, 2929 Broadway, New York, N. Y.; and J. Passmore Elkinton, Treasurer, Moylan, Pennsylvania.

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4. That the two paragraphs next above, giving the names of the owners, stockholders, and security holders, if any, contain not only the list of stockholders and security holders as they appear upon the books of the company but also, in cases where the stockholder or security holder appears upon the books of the company as trustee or in any other fiduciary relation the name of the person or corporation for whom such trustee is acting, is given; also that the said two paragraphs contain statements embracing affiant's full knowledge and belief as to the circumstances and conditions under which stockholders and security holders who do not appear upon the books of the company as trustees, hold stock and securities in a capacity other than that of a bona fide owner; and this affiant has no reason to believe that any other person, association, or corporation has any interest direct or indirect in the said stock, bonds, or other securities than as so stated by him.

J. ELLIOTT FINLAY
Managing Editor.

Sworn to and subscribed before me this 29th day of September, 1945.

BURT H. FALL

(Seal)

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